

Radical Abolitionist.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."—LEV. XXV. 10.

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The Radical Abolitionist.

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PROSPECTUS.

The "RADICAL ABOLITIONIST" proposes a proclamation of "liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." It demands of the *American Government* and the *American People*, the immediate and unconditional abolition of *American Slavery*.

It makes this demand on behalf of three millions of Americans *already* enslaved, on behalf of twenty millions more in process of *becoming* enslaved, and in behalf of the untold millions of their posterity, who must be enslaved for ages to come, unless American Slavery be overthrown.

It urges this demand in the name of humanity outraged, republicanism disgraced, religion dishonored, the Holy Scriptures perverted, the Saviour blasphemed, the laws of nature and of nature's God trampled under foot.

It denies that the Federal Government, under the Federal Constitution, has either a moral or a political right to tolerate slavery, in any of the States belonging to the Federal Union, for a single day.

"The United States SHALL guarantee to EVERY State in the Union a republican form of government."—*Constitution*.

"The foundation of republican government is the right of every citizen, in his person and property, and in their management."—*Jefferson*.

It denies that "the reserved rights of the States" include any such right as that of holding property in man, as no such "right" can exist; and Mr. Madison tells us that the Federal Convention would not permit the Constitution to recognize any such right.—*Vide Madison Papers*.

It affirms that the Constitution unequivocally inhibits the States from maintaining slavery.

"No State shall pass any bill of attainder, or laws impairing the obligation of contracts." And "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."—*Constitution*.

It affirms that the Constitution was formed by "the people of the United States," (all of them,) "to secure the blessings of LIBERTY for (themselves) and (their) posterity," without exception or distinction of race or color. And hence, no portion of "the people of the United States" can be constitutionally enslaved, and the declared object of the Constitution requires the Federal Government to "secure the blessings of liberty" to each and all of them.

If the Constitution is not available for these purposes, it is of no practical value, it is condemned by its own high professions, and the people have no alternative left them but to provide a better government for their protection, or become the serfs of the petty oligarchy of three hundred thousand slaveholders, who are now suffered to count for and insult a great nation.

The 'RADICAL ABOLITIONIST' recognizes as valid law no unrighteous enactments. It affirms, with all the great writers on Common Law, "that statutes against fundamental morality are void;" that "no human laws have any validity if contrary to the law of God, and such of them as are valid derive all their force, mediately, or immediately, from this original."—*FORTESCUE*.

On this ground, as well as from the admitted absence of any positive law in this country, establishing slavery; from the known incompetency of the colonial legislatures under British common law, to legalize it; from the ascertained illegality of the African slave trade, by which the colonies were supplied with slaves; and from the unanimous declaration of the thirteen original States, in the very act of establishing their independent governments, that all just governments "are founded on the 'inalienable right' of 'all men' to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,'" we affirm the absolute illegality of American slavery. We deny that it has any more legality in Georgia than in Massachusetts; that it is any more legal than the African slave-trade, or any other form of piracy and crime.

The object of this paper will be to unfold, explain, vindicate, and propagate these sentiments, calling on the people to maintain them at the ballot-box, thus providing for a federal legislature, a federal judiciary and a federal executive, that shall give them a national expression and force.

THE ATTACK OF THE N. Y. TIMES.

There is nothing in the article that follows that, considered in itself, would deserve a place in our columns, or require, at our hands, a moment's passing attention. It neither meets, nor even states, a single one of the positions taken in our "Call for a Nominating Convention." Its tone is disrespectful and bitter; its language is below the common level of political declamation. But the N. Y. TIMES is a leading advocate of the "Republican" movement. Its circulation is said to be about 70,000, of which about 40,000 are in New York City. Its editor, Mr. Raymond, is Lieut. Governor of the State of New York. He is, moreover, the reputed author (for the most part) of the Address of the late Republican Convention at Pittsburg. He has read what Gerrit Smith and others of us have said in our "Call," respecting the address, the Convention and the movement. He is evidently roused, disturbed and alarmed by it. He has felt it incumbent on him to reply to it, and to say what he can to prevent its having the influence that he fears it will have. Our readers, including the eight hundred signers to that Call, are entitled to know what Lieut. Governor Raymond has been able to say against it. Here it is. Look at it. Examine it. See how much information or argument you can get out of it.

"THE LIBERTY PARTY.—That division of the Abolition Party who reflect the views of Mr. Gerrit Smith, have issued a call for a National Nominating Convention at Syracuse in the latter part of May. As far as we can gather from an impartial scrutiny of the document, the main object of the Convention is to promote the defeat of the Republican movement. To the denunciation of that organization, to the discredit of its motives, to the reprobation of its aims, is the whole paper devoted, while Slavery escapes with very gingerly and considerate treatment indeed. It is quite clear that, in the approaching canvass, as always here-

tofore, radical Abolitionism will be found fighting on the side of Slavery. To that side, with a perversity that might be regarded as deliberately studied for untold bad objects concealed in the breasts of its leaders, has it uniformly lent its whole strength, and so contributed to all those aggressive measures, which have destroyed utterly the equilibrium of the States in favor of the South and Southern institutions.

"Contrasted with the course pursued by the Garrisonian extremists, we must say the action of this so-called 'Liberty Party' cuts but a shabby figure. Garrison and his friends decline to participate in political movements, or to exert the elective privilege. They are logical and consistent. Thoroughly aware that every vote cast for any Presidential candidate, not accepted by the great body of the North, is as mischievous as a direct vote for a Southern nominee, they refrain wholly from the ballot-box, and so decline to retard or disable the Northern movement, while they firmly decline to accelerate it. Gerrit Smith and his followers, in setting up what may with propriety be termed private candidates, cast their votes indirectly, but no less serviceably for the Polks and Pierces of Pro-Slavery choice, and bar from the Chief Magistracy the only men in whom there lies a hope of restoring the Government to its early purpose. Sense, and conscience, and right, agree in condemning this direct contribution of well-intended forces to the worst of ends, and throw the weight of a fearful responsibility on the leaders who counsel it.

"The apologies offered for a policy thus misdirected, are not even plausible. They are such as would be entertained nowhere else in human affairs. In the charge, upon which this call rings all possible changes, consists the whole marrow of it—that the Republicans are merely an anti-Slavery organization, whose march is unquestionably in the same direction with radical abolition, but stopping short of its extreme results. Admitting the impeachment, it would be easy to convict Abolitionism of the flattest absurdity, in preferring to ally itself with Slavery against such half-way help, to availing itself of all attainable energies against that monstrous evil. They might be pointed to that law of the understanding, in accordance with which no two minds in the universe hold precisely the same system of belief, and asked whether such discrepancy should prevent union for just aims among individuals of proximate convictions. They might be told that all reform and development, in nature or society, are gradual and progressive; that, to the advancement of every great world-change all manner of influences, good and evil, have contributed and have been accepted by the Apostles of reformation. They might be reverently directed to the Providence of God itself, which bends all energies, benignant and malign alike, to the promotion of beneficial ends; and rejects no agency as unworthy. The soldier would ridicule the mad fanatic who, in besieging a town, should decline the assistance of a vast army, because it offered to carry the fortifications one by one, and by prudent approaches, instead of proceeding to the end directly by storm. He would add a still stronger epithet, if the madmen should join the garrison in a war of extermination upon the friendly force. The traveller would pity the wayfarer, as crazed, who, fainting by the way, should refuse an offered ride in the direction of his journey, because the vehicle proposed to stop short of his distant home. He would regard him with horror, if he should further attempt to assassinate the proposed helper. The sailor would take refuge in affright and superstition, if in the mid-ocean he encountered a drifting raft laden with passengers, who should decline relief, unless the passing vessel would covenant to bear them to some remote inland town, rather than to its nearest sea-port. If they proceeded to scuttle the ship, upon non-compliance with such exaction, they might fairly be set down as evil spirits, rather than men. In just such category, guilty of just such absurdity, and proof to all such reasoning are the adherents of Messrs. Smith and Tappan. They are by old habit, enlisted in behalf of Slavery; it is natu-

ral, easy and pleasant, to assail the calmer movements of less ardent soldiers in the same cause; it lends a stimulating zest to the result of an election, to know that the Pro-Slavery incumbent was chosen, through their insane perversity; and that the supremacy of the policy which gave birth to the Kansas wrong is thus insured for four years longer. With these incitements to action, the Convention at Syracuse will act. They will act with the assured conviction that the fruit, as far as they can promote its maturity, must be Pro-Slavery triumph; and will, nevertheless, we doubt not, issue an address and resolutions overflowing with Anti-Slavery zeal. Let it suffice for the more direct and honest purpose of Republicanism, that, in this call, the great Northern movement is admitted to be opposed to Slavery; and that, consequently, any side movement that contends with it, or abates its strength, must be practically identified with the objectionable institution. Precisely such is the attitude of the misnamed "Liberty Party."

OUR ANSWER.

The reader has now seen how much Mr. Raymond can say against the Radical Abolition movement—how much in defence of the Republican party, and the Pittsburg Convention. Take up our "Call" (which we republish in this paper) and compare it with Mr. Raymond's assault upon it.

1. We commenced the call by saying, "Our undertaking is the abolition of American Slavery—every part and parcel of it." Does Mr. Raymond deny that this is our object? He cannot, he does not, deny it. Does he say that the Republican Party has the same object? He does not: he cannot pretend it. And yet Mr. Raymond very modestly treats us as the most arrogant and impertinent intermeddlers in the world, because we decline supporting the Republican party, and have taken the liberty of telling the public our reasons.

2. We inquired, "Can we rely on any of the great parties of our country to do our work in that (the Presidential) election?" and we answered—"On none of them—none of them go for the abolition of Slavery." Has Mr. Raymond answered our question? No. Has he shown, or even said, or intimated, that our answer to the question was a mistaken one? No. What, then, does he say? Why, this: That in the comparison with "the Garrisonian extremists" who "decline to participate in political movements, or to exert the elective privilege," "the Liberty Party," as he calls us, "cuts but a shabby figure." "Thoroughly aware," as the Garrisonians are, that "voting for any Presidential candidate not accepted by the great body of the North, is as mischievous as a direct vote for a Southern nominee, they wholly refrain from the ballot-box," &c., &c. The Garrisonians, we think, will not accept Mr. Raymond's description of their policy. But, be this as it may, Mr. Raymond fails either to impugn our facts, or to meet the plain issue presented by them.

3. We said that the Republican party leaves Slavery alone in the States and in the District of Columbia; lets alone the Fugitive Slave bill, the Slave Trade; that it endorses the Constitutionality of Slavery in all the Slave States; that it fully admits that all the States, and does not deny that the Territories are the Constitutional "hunting-ground for slaves;" that they regard our endeavors to liberate the millions of slaves a war upon the Constitution and a violation of law. Does Mr. Raymond show or intimate that we were mistaken in these statements of particulars? No. Does he attempt to defend the course of the Republican party, in respect to

them? No. Does he undertake to point out the errors or refute the arguments of Radical Abolitionists, in respect to these topics? No. Does he, then, have the grace and the manliness to own himself floored, and his party in the wrong, and the Radical Abolitionists right? No! No! What, then, does he say? Why, in the face of undeniable facts, he affirms that, in our hands, "Slavery" (which our "Call" had branded as "a pre eminent piracy, and a naked outlaw") "escaped with very gingerly and considerate treatment, indeed!" He speaks of "Radical Abolition," as "fighting on the side of Slavery" with a perversity that might be regarded as "deliberately studied for untold bad objects concealed in the breasts of its leaders." He speaks of Messrs. Smith and Tappan as "by habit enlisted on the side of Slavery, casting their votes for Polk and Pierce," because, we presume, they declined "voting for Clay to keep out Texas," or for Clay, Webster and Fillmore—delectable trio—to prevent the enactment of the Fugitive Slave bill, and, *therefore*, are responsible for the reign of Pierce, Douglas and Atchinson. We had supposed that this sort of logic had had its day; but it seems to have been revived again, for the benefit of the "Republican" Party.

4. In our "Call" we quoted the much-lauded documents of the Pittsburg Republican Convention as "disclaiming any intention to interfere with Slavery in the States where it exists," as recognising "the slave-holding interests in the States where it exists" as "entitled, under the Constitution, like all other local interests, to immunity from the interference of the General Government"—as proposing to restore the Missouri Compromise as "the security of the Slave institution," "the finale of all existing commotions." From these documentary data, we inferred that "if the Republican Party should get the reins of Government it would endeavor to satisfy the nation by restoring the Missouri Compromise, and acquiescing, at every other point, in the present possessions and practices of Slavery;" that "it would feel itself bound by the implications of its platform, not to disturb those possessions and practices." We expressed the fear that such a success of the Republican Party might "prove the confirmation rather than the subversion of Slavery, the most authoritative and effective endorsement of Slavery, because endorsed by Anti-Slavery men." We objected further, that by such concessions, conjoined in the proceedings of the Convention, with appeals to the North and to Anti-Slavery men for support, the party "like the Janus-faced Colonization Society, has its Pro-Slavery appeal for the South, and its Anti-Slavery appeal for the North," and is "a party in which slave-holders and Anti-Slavery men are to unite in a compromise that shall be the finale of all existing commotions, and that shall, nevertheless, leave the slave in his chains."

How does Mr. Raymond dispose of these grave objections? Does he charge us with misquoting the documents? No. Does he intimate that we misapprehended or misrepresented their proper import and bearing? No. Does he prove, or attempt to show—or does he even affirm or intimate that the inferences we drew from these documents were illogical, or that the

conclusions to which we arrived were unsound or unreasonable? No. How, then, does he try to turn off the force and edge of them? Simply by raising the pusillanimous and unfounded complaint that we have abused the Republican party, discredited its motives, and are making its defeat the grand end and aim of our endeavors. If our "Call" erred in its treatment of the Republican party, it was in the opposite direction. We admitted that, "at a single point, it is anti-slavery," and the Times, by taking advantage of this very liberal concession, endeavors to draw from it the conclusion that we are bound to go with, it on account of the little good it is proposing to do.

5. The Times accordingly represents us as acting the part of a person who should refuse to ride in a vehicle a part of the way, because it could not carry him the whole distance. We are like a mad fanatic who, in besieging a town should decline the assistance of a vast army, because it offered to carry the fortifications one by one, instead of proceeding by storm. But what if the vehicle were so rickety or so ill-driven that we apprehended being set down, half-way, in an impassable quagmire? What if the assistance of the "vast army" were tendered to us only on condition that we should pledge ourselves with them, and as they do, to let the main garrison alone, after having made a ridiculous onset with pop-guns upon an inconsiderable outpost?

The Editor of the Times knows that our grand objection to the Republican party lies in the incessant and every day repeated pledges of the party, its Editors, its statesmen, its orators, its Conventions, its Resolutions, its Addresses, to let slavery alone in the States where it exists, that is, to let alone nine hundred and ninety-nine one-thousandths of all the slavery in the land—keeping up, like a constantly retreating mastiff, a perpetual and ludicrous barking against slavery where it is not, but only threatens to come, yet promising to let it alone the moment it obtains possession—invoking heaven and earth against its aggressive entrance into a Territory, but fully endorsing its constitutional claims in the same Territory, the moment it becomes a State! Witness the consequent relinquishment of their former rallying motto of "No more Slave States." Witness also the self-contradicting language of Senator Wilson, which, just at this moment, reaches us through the Tribune:

"The Republican party opposes slavery everywhere, but he would rather die than interpose with it in the States!"

From which we learn that "the States" are not *any* where! Now if the Times could have met and answered our grand objections to its party, it would have improved the opportunity of doing so. As it was, its only course was to ignore and misrepresent those objections, thus providing for itself the easy task of demolishing its own man of straw.

6. If the Times claims that its party lets slavery alone in the States for want of constitutional power, why does he not say so, and why does it not meet and confute the arguments by which the existence of that power has been a thousand times proved, till three-fourths at least of all the supporters of the Republican party in this State and in New England, taken individually, will concede the argument to be unanswerable—and not a man, among all their statesmen, dares enter the lists, in print, or on the public forum, on the opposite side?

7. If the Times can show that the American people, the American Government, or any political party seeking the administration of that Government, has a moral right to wield that Government, with its ample powers, without abolishing slavery, or that any legal voter has a moral right to help such an administration into power, why did it not do so, and show the agreement of that sentiment with the essential nature and mission of civil government, as laid down by all the great masters of the science, or

as revealed in the Scriptures, or as engraven in the human conscience? Let the Editor consult his own heart and say whether, if *he*, or his loved ones were in slavery, he could believe it innocent to vote with a party that refused to afford protection to himself and to them in the exercise and enjoyment of their dearest rights. Let him prove to us, from philosophy, let him illustrate to us, from history, the political safety, the political sagacity of the course he stigmatises us as "mad fanatics" for not pursuing? What nation or government ever prospered that refused or neglected to "execute justice between a man and his neighbor"?—to "deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor"? What people ever secured their own liberties by consenting to the enslavement of any portion of their fellow citizens? What republic was ever kept from subversion or overthrow, whose citizens consented, at the ballot-box, to the tolerance of an irresponsible despotism, in any portion of that republic? What National Government was ever permanently administered as a free government, or otherwise as a grim despotism, that was not recognized and administered as possessing and wielding the power of protecting the personal liberties of its subjects?

When the sagacious and learned statesman who presides over the editorial department of the N. Y. TIMES, can afford us reliable information on these topics, and show us how we can come into the Republican party without ignoring or trampling under foot the first principles of all political and moral science, we shall be happy to receive his instructions. Until then, we shall consider it no disparagement to us that we are branded as "mad fanatics," for acting according to our honest convictions.

8. And when he next philosophizes upon "that law of the understanding in accordance with which no two minds in the universe hold precisely the same system of belief," he will, if he pleases, have the liberality to account it possible that *some* minds, even without the madness of fanaticism, may believe that there is a God, who controls even the political world; that he commands us, even at the ballot box, to love our neighbors as ourselves, and that his frown evermore blasts, in the end, all political expectations that are not based upon the most rigid adherence to the divine laws by which social humanity, in all nations and ages, is inflexibly governed. And when he next "reverently ponders the Providence of God, which bends all energies, benignant and malign, alike, to the promotion of beneficial ends, and rejects no agency as unworthy"—not even a Pharaoh, a Pierce, or a Fillmore, let him remember that Divine Providence neither needs nor authorizes our aid by the doing of evil that good may come—that it commands not and permits not our co-operation with "the malign" for the promotion of the "beneficial"—that it forbids alike, our co-operation with what we believe to be morally wrong, whether practiced by the saint or by the reprobate—that we have no moral right to go with Simon Peter wherein we think he "is to be blamed," in order to prevent Simon Magus from doing worse mischief. Divine Providence can take care of its Polks, without our doing homage to its Clays—can even deliver us from the snares of Stephen A. Douglass without our fettering ourselves, after the fashion of

some of our good but mistaken friends, who strangely fancy that they can best combat the measures of Stephen A. Douglass, by endorsing the Constitutional theories upon which those measures are founded. A "reverent study of Divine Providence" teaches us no such lessons as these. Nor does it lead us to fancy that any combination or array of numbers, for the best of objects, can avail us any thing, if directed in forgetfulness of the *fixed laws* by which Divine Providence governs the world.

9. The venerable Lieut. Governor, (perhaps turned of forty,) assumes the airs of a much injured and justly indignant old gentleman, whose paternal grounds had been rudely entered, and his choice fruit pillaged by a bevy of impertinent and saucy young urchins. Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Gerrit Smith, William Goodell, and S. S. Jocelyn, what business, on earth, can *they* have, on *his* inherited domain of organized political action against the slavocracy? Until some quarter of a century ago, who ever heard of *their* determination, by organized effort, to "remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed by the Constitution of the United States?"* Who had ever heard of *them* as pioneers of moral and political reformation, while Mr. Raymond was in the glory of his uniform advocacy of liquor prohibition, on the eve of nominating conventions? And did he not heroically cut himself loose from his much-loved pro-slavery party, so savory with the perfumes of Clay, Webster and Fillmore (of blessed Fugitive Slave-bill memory,) within a year or two after it was found that no incantations could keep the breath of life in it? What right, then, can such intruders and novices as "Messrs. Smith and Tappan" have to keep up a party, not more than sixteen years old, that goes against "American slavery as it is," and against the Fugitive Slave Bill, now that *he* is trying to get up another Anti-Administration party that ignores such issues? Do they not know that the true issue before the country, as against the pro-slavery party, is presented by those who yield up and concede to them in perpetuity, nine hundred and ninety nine one-thousandths of all the slaves in the nation, together with the balance of them, whenever the "Territories" they inhabit shall have been manufactured into slave States?

Seriously—we advertise Mr. HENRY J. RAYMOND, and all concerned, that the determination to *abolish American slavery* by organized political action, will neither be suspended nor abandoned. In matter-of-fact there neither are nor can be more than two really antagonistic and earnest political parties in this country while slavery continues, to wit, the propagandists of slavery, and the propagandists of freedom—the Stephen A. Douglass party, and the Radical Abolitionists.

If any party is to be considered an interloper, an intermeddler, diverting attention from the true issue, it is the party, call itself by what name it pleases, (and change the name as often as it may,) that attempts to step in between the combatants and separate them, to patch up a peace by restoring "the infamous Missouri Compromise." All parties except the parties

for and against American slavery, are shams, and all shams are doomed. The country has seen some demonstrations of this, and is likely to see more.

And if any one wishes to know anything further of the position of the modest gentleman who charges "Messrs. Smith and Tappan" as being "by habit enlisted on the side of slavery," because they decline voting the "Republican" ticket, let him read the following, from an editorial in the N. Y. Times of April 19.

The Republican party has defined its position and proclaimed the political objects which it seeks to accomplish in the way such declarations are usually made—by an address and resolutions adopted in National convention. Neither in that, nor in any other declaration, is there the slightest ground for attributing to the Republican Party any purpose of hostility to Slavery as it exists in the Southern States.

POSITION OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

As the Editor of the National Era has recently afforded us an opportunity of defining our position before his readers, it appears to us that we may, in some degree, reciprocate the courtesy, by the publication, (from one of his recent editorials,) of a statement of *his* position for the benefit of *our* readers.

After a statement of "THE OLD POLICY" of our Government, as manifested in the ordinance of 1787, the Editor proceeds with an able and well condensed historical memoranda of the several steps taken by the General Government, commencing in 1848, in "INITIATION OF THE NEW POLICY." Having made these statements, the Editor proceeds as follows:

THE ISSUES RAISED.—We have noticed each step of the so-called Democratic Party in its downward march in false doctrine and policy, under the lead of the Slave Power; and, in so doing, indicated the issues of the coming Presidential contest. The Federal Government must be rescued from its control, and carried back to its original doctrine and policy.

1. The Slave Power and its Party intend to assert, at a convenient season, that slaves are regarded as property by the Federal Constitution, and that they may be held as such in Territories of the United States, under the safeguards of the Constitution, without positive law.

Let us deny it.

2. They assert that the People of a Territory have the right to determine their own institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States—but do not say that they have the right to exclude Slavery, while they hold themselves in reserve to affirm hereafter that they have no such right.

Let us affirm that they have this right.

3. They deny the entire policy of Intervention by Congress against Slavery in Territories.

Let us affirm that it is the right and duty of Congress to exclude Slavery from the Territories, and plant ourselves on the principle and policy embraced in the sixth article of the Ordinance of 1787.

It strikes us that the position of the Era on the first issue raised, is very happily and properly taken, as far as it goes.—Yes! "Let us deny it!" Let us deny that "slaves are regarded as property by the Federal Constitution." Let us "deny that they may be held in the Territories under the safeguard of the Constitution;" and we would add—"with or without what is called positive law."

If we "deny that slaves are regarded as property by the Federal Constitution," shall we not have to deny that slave property, so called, is "under the safeguards of the Constitution," in any case whatever, in the States? So it appears to us.

The same in respect to the second and third issues. In taking the position of the Era, we should find ourselves compelled to go farther.

* Declaration of the Convention that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, in 1833.

We should have to affirm the right of the people of a Territory to exclude slavery; and to deny their right to authorize or tolerate it. We should "affirm that it is the right and duty of Congress"—the Congress of the United States—to "exclude slavery" from the United States as well as from the Territories.

If the Era can persuade the Republican party to "deny that slaves are regarded as property by the Federal Constitution," it will have performed a good service. This will logically involve (will it not?) a denial of "the Compromises of the Constitution" altogether. And the provisions of the Constitution for securing liberty will then stand entire, unimpaired, uncompromised, and there will be nothing in the way of their application against slaveholding. We wish success, therefore, to the following appeal of the Era:

APPEAL TO THE DELEGATES TO THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION.—"Will the Delegates to the Philadelphia Convention think of these things? Will they shrink from the issues tendered to them by the Slave Power and its Party? Will they consent to any trick of evasion or compromise, whether in their declarations or nominations? Will they content themselves with an effort to combine the elements of opposition on no Principle, in support of a man, representing no Principle? Will they be seduced into a trial for success, by concealing their purposes, and selecting for candidates men of unknown or untried position. The Slave Power and Party are always positive. They take a position, and stick to it. If defeated, they will not retreat. They act as if they really had faith in their principles, and in the ultimate recognition of them by the People. Nor do they deem the man who has made himself conspicuous for the advocacy of their principles, disabled for that reason for high position? When did you ever find them choosing for their standard-bearers men not known to be one with them? Will Republicans, who have Right and Freedom on their side, adopt a negative, evasive, timid policy, resting their hopes of success, not on the strength of their principles, but the mere availability of their men? If the majority of the People believe in their principles, an honest affirmation and representation of them will secure the majority of the popular vote. If the majority of the People do not believe in them, shall we resort to cunning trickery to secure a triumph which would establish no principle, and inure to the benefit only of place-hunters? Let them meet the Slave Power and Party boldly on the issues it proclaims, and, if they succeed, the People will stand at the back of those whom they shall elect, to carry out the policy in favor of which they have rendered an honest verdict. If they fail, it will be because the people have not yet fully learned to comprehend the real evil of the country, and its only remedy. Then, instead of being disheartened, trusting in our principles, and assuming the capacity of the People ultimately to appreciate their true interests, the plain duty will be, to urge our Cause upon them until its claims shall be fully recognised. Then they will sustain and inaugurate it, and the Power in the ascendant will be able to do something more than to distribute spoils and feed hungry ambition.

There can be no reasonable doubt that this appeal is greatly needed, and that the Editor was deeply aware of the fact. One of his previous editorials is as follows:

"We have received from some Anti Slavery men, and notices in various newspapers, criticisms on the action of the Pittsburg Convention, and the Republican movement generally. It is right that the people should be on the alert, that they should regard with displeasure every indication of a purpose to construct a platform or procure nominations on the policy of mere availability. Our correspondents shall receive due attention."

In redeeming this pledge, afterwards, the editor says—

"Two of our correspondents take exceptions to the Pittsburg Convention, because its declarations of principles are so low-toned. Both assume that the only policy proclaimed is, either to restore the Missouri Compromise, or to secure for Freedom that portion of United States Territory, once dedicated to Liberty

under its provisions. This is a misapprehension. The broad ground assumed by the Pittsburg Convention is, *Freedom to the Territories of the United States.*"

We wish the Editor could have added that it is a misapprehension that the issue of "no more slave States" was ignored by the Convention. We hope he will yet add to his Appeal to the Delegates to the Pittsburg Convention, (what we miss in the preceding) an earnest request for the restoration of that old plank of the Platform. Though we have not much faith in it, without a more "radical" underpinning, we don't like to miss it, entirely, quite so soon. We feel unwilling to think that any National Convention will ever persuade the Era and its most substantial supporters to part with it.

On another point we cannot say that we think the Era has succeeded in removing the objection mentioned—

In this connection it may be proper to notice the attacks of a few Anti-Slavery papers on Francis P. Blair, of Maryland, who was called to preside at the Pittsburg Convention. He is a mere slaveholder, they say, and this fact shows the true character of the Republican cause. Besides he sustains this cause, as a remedy for the agitation of the question of Slavery! Do they expect a man reared amidst slaveholding institutions to take precisely the same views that they are accustomed to? Is it not much for a slaveholder to separate himself from his caste, to incur obloquy and proscription, by taking upon Southern soil a position of open antagonism to the cherished policy of that caste—to the policy by which it seeks to perpetuate and increase its power? Would not every reasonable man at the North rejoice, if all slaveholders would proclaim boldly that, regarding Slavery a great evil, a source of discord at war with the main objects of the Union, they will no longer seek to extend it, but unite with the free States in consecrating the Territories of the United States to Freedom and Free Labor? Men of the North might differ from them on the moral question of their personal responsibilities to the system, but would this abate one jot or tittle of the admiration such a declaration would awaken? Why not, then, award full credit to Mr. Blair for taking this manly position?"

Our answer to this is—We do not "expect a man reared amid slaveholding institutions," still remaining a slaveholder, and still avowing openly his design to promote, by his political activities, "the security of slave institutions" and "the finale of all existing commotions"—we do not expect such a man "to take precisely the same views that" abolitionists, (including Jas. G. Birney and W. H. Brisbane, "reared amidst slaveholding institutions") "are accustomed to do." Nor do we expect to see them confided in by the opposers of slavery, to do anti-slavery work, any more than we expect to see the firm adherents of a National Bank confided in by the opposers of a National Bank, to help them get rid of it. "We do not expect" to see the community in general giving much credit to the sagacity or even to the earnestness of a political organization for doing battle against the Slave Power, whose political conventions are presided over by such men, and who are looking for Presidential candidates among such. Our hopefulness, buoyant and even excessive as it may sometimes be, does not very naturally float in "precisely" that direction. We may be mistaken. The event will show. And while we are ready to "award full credit to Mr. Blair"—the credit of being a far more sagacious supporter of slavery than Atchinson or Stringfellow, and, withal, a more merciful slaveholder and a more decent gentleman, we confess our bump of admiration has not yet risen to the point of selecting him for the Presidency of the United States, or to the

almost equal dignity of presiding over a National Convention of earnest anti-slavery men, who are enjoying the confidence of the estimable editor of the National Era. From the tone of the Editor's "Appeal to the Delegates," we should infer that he was of the same opinion. We do not, otherwise, understand the pertinency of his allusions when he deprecates the danger of nominating on the bases of "availability"—of a man "representing no principle"—"selecting for candidates men of unknown or untried position."

Radical Abolitionist.

NEW YORK, MAY, 1856.

TAKE NOTICE, that we do not make any charges for papers sent to those who have not ordered or subscribed for them.

Letters for the Editor of the Radical Abolitionist, or for the Treasurer of the American Abolition Society, should be addressed to Post office box No. 1212, No. 48 Beekman st. New York. We shall then get them without the delay and extra charge of two cents for delivery by the penny post.

MONTHLY, OR SEMI-MONTHLY?

Shall the next volume of the "Radical Abolitionist" be continued as a monthly? Or shall it be issued semi-monthly?

This question has been agitated among our friends in the country, for some time past. One of our patrons, Dr. J. C. HARRINGTON, of Fulton, N. Y., wrote us last February, in favor of the change, adding—

"I propose that one hundred of its subscribers pay five dollars each, and that you try the experiment for one year—say; commence the first of April next, and you may set me down for ten, for this object, provided the balance can, in any way be raised."

The Executive Committee of the American Abolition Society, by whom the paper is published, were not prepared, at that time, to take definite action; but took the matter under consideration and advisement, and, after some discussion, referred the question to their sub-committee on Publication, to deliberate and report thereon. This Report, presented and adopted at the last monthly meeting (for April, was, in substance, as follows—

"That a proposition and subscription list be opened in the May and June numbers of the Radical Abolitionist, to raise the additional sum, (\$500,) and if, by July, the sums subscribed be sufficient, the proposed semi-monthly Radical Abolitionist, be commenced, with the commencement of the second volume, being the next August number. The price to subscribers to the new semi-monthly volume to be, of course, double the price of the present monthly.

The present terms, it will be noticed by referring to the imprint, are fifty cents &c. "per annum, or for 12 Numbers." This was so stated, in anticipation of a possible change to a semi-monthly. So that advance payments of fifty cents &c. made at any time during the present volume, and running onward into the second volume, would, by the Terms, run out at the end of the twelve numbers, whether issued monthly or semi-monthly.

Persons, also, who have subscribed, or who may hereafter wish to subscribe, the amount of fifty cents to have the paper sent to a friend, may continue to do so, on (substantially) the same terms, and to the same effect. That is,

their fifty cents will furnish the same twelve numbers as before, only they will all be sent in six months instead of twelve months.

The great benefit of publishing more frequently would be the furnishing of a greater amount and richer variety of matter, and giving more seasonably whatever relates to passing or expected events. As it now is, much important information becomes stale before it can be printed, and, even then, for want of room, must be suppressed altogether. Much original prepared matter, embracing trains of thought deemed important, are accumulating without any prospects of being published. The errors we have to grapple with, are poured forth from hundreds of huge sheets, weekly and daily, while the truths we would teach are waiting to find a scanty utterance in our little sheet, monthly. It is *hard work to write* under the consciousness of such disadvantages.

One reason why we should need the additional fund of \$500 for a semi-monthly, is because we fear the loss of subscribers consequent on the increase of price. And besides this, the change may involve additional expenses in various ways—additional clerk-hire—perhaps additional help in the editorial department, or assistance for the Corresponding Secretary, who acts both as Secretary and as Editor. Those, then, who desire the proposed change, must do something to aid it in addition to their own subscriptions for the paper, or for the general funds of the Society.

Form of subscription to the additional fund.

The undersigned agree to pay the Publishers of the Radical Abolitionist, the sums affixed to our names, in aid of the semi-monthly publication of the paper.

Names | P. O. Address | State.

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION FOR NOMINATIONS—WHO ARE INVITED?

The Republican National Executive Committee have issued a call for a Convention to be held in Philadelphia, June 17, to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States. The Call is addressed to—

"The people of the United States, without regard to past differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present Administration, to the extension of slavery into the Territories, in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free State, and of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson."

The question arises—WHO ARE INVITED UNDER THIS CALL? "The principles of Washington and of Jefferson," in the day of those statesmen, were accounted antipodes. Each of them stood, by the common understanding and action of their adherents, at the head of two rival and rancorously belligerent parties—the Federal and the Anti-Federal—afterwards known as Federalists and Republicans—the former advocating the Federal Constitution, the latter opposing it, before its adoption, and afterwards giving it the most widely different constructions, according to their opposite theories of Government; and advocating two opposite systems of measures. In responding to this "Call," which of these opposite "principles" are to be recognized? Or is the invitation extended to the advocates of both of them, and

with the view of "restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of" both of them? Assuredly, this cannot be the meaning. We must suppose, (and the connection favors it) that those are invited who are "in favor—of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson" in respect to slavery. On this subject there may have been an agreement between them. Let us see what was "the action of the Federal Government" respecting slavery, under their respective administrations.

Under WASHINGTON'S Administration, "the action of the Federal Government was as follows:

1. The territory embracing Tennessee was ceded by North Carolina to the United States, on condition that the provision of the ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from the North-Western Territory should not be extended over that region. The Federal Government received the Territory, on that condition, and admitted Tennessee as a slave State.

2. Kentucky was admitted as a slave State.

3. The Fugitive Slave bill of 1793 was enacted, of which the bill of 1850 is only an enlargement, to secure its more vigorous enforcement.

4. The Slave Codes of Virginia and Maryland were re-enacted by the Federal Government, over the District of Columbia, in open and flagrant violation of the Federal Constitution.

5. An Act was passed for naturalizing "white" citizens, setting up an unconstitutional distinction on account of color.

6. An Act, of the same character, was passed for organizing a militia of "white" citizens.

Under JEFFERSON'S Administration, "the action of the Federal Government was as follows:

1. The territory out of which the States of Mississippi and Alabama were afterwards formed, was ceded by Georgia to the United States, under a stipulation, acceded to by the Federal Government, that the prohibition of slavery, in the ordinance of 1787, should not be extended over it.

2. Louisiana, a slave country, was purchased from France, and nothing was done to make it free territory, so that it grew into the slave States of Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri.

Such was "the action of the Federal Government" under Washington and Jefferson—action which, either immediately or prospectively, gave us the seven slave States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri, (with its border-ruffian invaders of Kansas)—which gave us slavery in the District of Columbia, the Fugitive Slave bill, and the pro-slavery naturalization and militia laws! So, there's a chance for you, fellow citizens of all sorts—Abolitionists, Free soilers, Free democrats, Non-extensionists, Republicans, Whigs, Democrats, Know Nothings, and Slaveholders! All those of you whose souls are athirst for "restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson," "without regard to past differences and divisions," just go ahead! Go to Philadelphia, June 17th, and nominate Mr. F. P. Blair, Col. Fremont, Sam Houston, Col. Benton, or somebody else that stands on the platform, and if you can succeed in electing your candidate, your most sanguine expectations

will, no doubt, be realized. The glorious era of Washington and Jefferson will be restored "The Government will be brought back" to the point where it started from, and put upon the same track, with a fair chance of running the same race over again! A glorious prospect, is it not?

But stop, a little! One slight difficulty presents itself. "The policy of the present Administration," and "the extension of slavery into the Territories" is to be stoutly resisted, while "restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson." The troublesome "Radicals" will demand how these two things can be done at once. Never heed them. They are "impracticables," who have never learned the necessity of so constructing a platform as to take in voters of opposite views. More than one Presidential election has been carried by this policy, by which one side or the other must get taken in, to be sure. They are "impracticables," who have never learned that the great end of political action is the spoils of office, and that, in such laudable labor, the great cause of human freedom, adroitly used up, and manufactured into capital, is fair game.—What "impracticables!"

AUTHORITY OF THE FATHERS.

"If this were the Constitution of some forgotten Republic of antiquity, just recovered and submitted to learned publicists to determine its true character, they must unanimously pronounce it incompatible with the existence of Slavery." Horace Greeley.

Mr. Greeley said this, in remarking upon Gen. Granger's speech in Congress. Upon this the National Anti-Slavery Standard remarks thus:

As the Constitution is not that "of some forgotten republic of antiquity," but of a nation of slaveholders and slavebreeders, and as it cannot be fairly interpreted in forgetfulness of this fact, we must deem Gen. Granger's construction erroneous. Nevertheless, we care not how soon the North adopts that construction, since the effort to enforce it would be followed either by submission on the part of the slave holders or a dissolution of the Union—in all probability the latter.

We like the *tone* of the closing sentence, though we anticipate no such result as a dissolution of the Union. With the Standard's opinion of this matter, and with its advocacy of "dissolution," it certainly ought to bid God speed to the Radical Abolitionists. But we cannot agree with the Standard's comments upon Mr. Greeley. We do not believe that the intellects, the consciences, the hearts, the activities, and the destinies of the present generation of American citizens are thus to be lorded over by the people that lived two generations ago. Rather, we do not approve of the servility that would characterize the present generation, if they should allow themselves to be thus controlled by their own fallible conjectures and guesses as to what their grand-fathers intended, while they said the contrary! To our minds, such a dogma savors more of excessive and idolatrous conservatism and submission, than it does of self-direction, independence and manly progress. We do not admit that our ancestors could have bound us, in that manner, if they had undertaken to do so.—We have never thus understood national documents, and the obligations imposed by them. And we cannot but marvel when we witness—as we often have wit-

nessed—such indications of—what shall we call it?—Old foggy-ism?—in a class of reformers who have sometimes been thought altogether too loose and disorganizing—having too little veneration for antiquity and precedent—too impatient of all government—and too unrestrained in their speculations. It is only on the subjects of civil law, and civil government, however, that we find them thus leaning to conservative rules of construction. We half suspect that if they were intent on *preserving* civil law and civil government, they would be less forward to dress them up in such unsightly habiliments. Neither laws nor Constitutions will long be held in veneration, if it comes to be understood that their authority rests, not upon their inherent character, but upon the dictum of dead Statesmen! Neither laws nor Constitutions will have any definite or ascertainable meaning, if that meaning is to be determined only by subjecting to an analysis the ashes of all those who may have had a hand in placing them upon the statute-book. If any one wished to disorganize society, and overturn civil government, he could in no way labor more effectually to that end, than by the propagation of such rules of construction.

The AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, as we learn from the Liberator and the Standard, will hold its twenty-third annual meeting at the City Assembly Rooms, (No. 446 Broadway, between Howard and Grand streets) on Wednesday, May 7th, at ten o'clock A. M., and on Thursday the 8th. Addresses are expected from William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Rev. Theodore Parker, Mrs. Lucy Stone Blackwell, Rev. Samuel J. May, Charles L. Remond, and others. The Call says,

"We reiterate our former declaration, that the object of this Society is not *merely* to make 'Liberty national and Slavery sectional,'—nor to prevent the acquisition of Cuba—nor to restore the Missouri Compromise—nor to repeal the Fugitive Slave bill—nor to make Kansas a free State—nor to resist the admission of any new slave State into the Union—nor to terminate slavery in the District of Columbia and in the National Territories—but it is, primarily, comprehensively, and uncompromisingly, to effect the immediate, total and eternal overthrow of slavery, wherever it exists on American soil, and to expose and confront whatever party or sect seeks to purchase peace or success at the expense of human liberty. Living or dying, our motto is, 'No UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS, RELIGIOUSLY OR POLITICALLY!'"

Well. This looks a little more "radical" than some things we have seen in the Standard—not quite as 'commendatory' of the "Republicans." What will the "Times" say of it? How shall the programme be carried out, *politically*, but by joining the "Radicals?" Had we been on the Committee, we should have proposed one more disclaimer, thus—immediately after "National Territories" insert, "*nor* by a political separation from the slaves, leaving them still in their chains." And for a motto, "No slaveholding permitted within the Union!"

Is GREELEY AMONG THE RADICALS? The Editorial Correspondent of the New York Tribune at Washington, (H. G.) communicated to his paper a most animated and complimentary notice of Gen. Granger's Radical Abolition speech, and almost, if not quite, endorsing its doctrines. He says expressly that "if we

were to interpret the Constitution by itself alone, we must understand it as Gen. Granger does;" and that "a generation hence, *when public sentiment shall have been enlightened and purified*, may very probably be the general interpretation." Here then is work and encouragement for "Radical Abolitionists."

NEW PUBLICATION.

GOSPEL FRUITS; or, Bible Christianity Illustrated. A PRIZE ESSAY. By MARIA GOODELL FROST. Cincinnati: American Reform Tract and Book Society. 188 pages, 18 mo., cloth, gilt.

A Notice from the Central Christian Herald.

GOSPEL FRUITS.—This Prize Essay is got up in a very attractive style of typography and binding. The author, Mrs. Frost, writes well. Her story is natural, interesting, and makes a deep impression upon the mind of the reader. She describes a class of white girls in a Sabbath School, with their different tempers and habits; a colored girl is introduced, and the treatment she receives is delineated; a revival of religion occurs, and among other changes there is a great difference in the conduct of the whites towards the colored people and their children; the revival passes, and prejudice resumes its reign; the colored people resolve at last, to build a church of their own; by great effort and self-denial they succeed; much good is done; but suddenly a deacon of the church, who is its main pillar, is kidnapped by his former master—is hurried to the far South, and there consigned to hopeless slavery. These are the leading incidents of the book. Its prominent excellence is in portraying the influence of the Gospel on persons of various dispositions and in various circumstances. Here, we think, the success of the author is decided, and the book, consequently, is valuable and well worthy of perusal, apart from its special anti-slavery influences."

From other Notices.

"If this work does not create as great an interest and have as wide a circulation as 'Sunny Side,' we shall be disappointed."—*Christian Press*.

"It is truly what its name imports, an exhibition of Gospel Fruits, an instructive, interesting and impressive illustration of Bible Christianity. The work is pervaded with a spirit of earnest, practical piety. We hope the Sabbath Schools of all our churches will supply themselves with this book. It is destined, we doubt not, to do a great work, in moulding the sentiments which, in the next generation, will sweep Slavery from the Church and the land."—*Free Presbyterian*.

It appears well adapted to remove prejudice against color, and to produce abhorrence of Slavery in the minds of children."—*The Reformer*.

"This is a most excellent Sabbath School book, full of just the right kind of instruction for the times, and while it is exactly adapted to children, it may be read with great profit by Sabbath School teachers, parents, and, in fact, by everybody." "We hope that hundreds, thousands and millions will read the 'Gospel Fruits.'"—*Religious Telegraph (Moravian)*.

"It is a sweet and truthful book, and cannot fail of being extensively useful."—*Letter from Gerrit Smith*.

"We should be glad to know that a copy of it was placed in every S. S. library in the country."—*American Missionary*.

"We admire it for its correct Anti-Slavery principles, and its clear delineations of the duties and results of faithful Sabbath School instruction. No parent or teacher can read this work without being profited, spiritually and intellectually; and so simplified is the religion of Christ that even children cannot fail to feel its force, and comprehend its practical bearing."—*The Golden Rule*.

The story is illustrated and made attractive to children by a number of well-conceived and well executed wood cuts. For sale at the Abolition Depository, 48 Beekman-st., N.Y. Price, 35 cts.; or 42 cts. mailed.

ADDITIONAL PUBLICATIONS.—We place on our Catalogue this month, a number of additional publications, viz. Gospel Fruits, (a new work,) Letters on Africa, by George Thompson, Memoir of Rev. Levi Spencer, by Pres. Blanchard, and Evidences (in Parliament) on the Slave Trade. (See Catalogue.)

FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS.—We hope to have, in a few days, a supply of Gen. Granger's Speech in Congress. Retail price two

cents, wholesale one cent, postage one cent. Also, a Review of the Apologies of the American Tract Society, lately published in the N. Y. Tribune. Retail price five cents, wholesale four cents, postage two cents.

RADICALISM IN CONGRESS AGAIN!—SPEECH OF GEN. GRANGER—THE SLAVOCRATS AGAIN SILENCED!

When GERRIT SMITH, in his celebrated speech in Congress against the Nebraska iniquity, took the aggressive position and demonstrated the illegality and unconstitutionality of slavery, and the power of the Federal Government over slavery in States, he struck a new blow, the sound of which has been reverberating ever since. The Slavocracy were taken by surprise, and had nothing to answer. Since Gerrit Smith left Congress, the partisans of slavery there had become as flippant as ever, repeating, almost daily, with impunity, the transparent sophistries which no "Free-soiler" or "Republican" had attempted to answer, simply because they could not do it without taking the "radical" ground, which was believed to be unpopular, and therefore impolitic. And so the oligarchy went on, swimmingly, till the 4th of April, when Hon. AMOS P. GRANGER, of Syracuse, (the Jerry Rescue city) came down upon them, suddenly, in a double distilled radical thunderbolt, and again they were silenced! The N. Y. Tribune tells us that the speech "very much agitated the Southern members," and that, "at the close, Mr. Keitt of S. C. got the floor, and the House adjourned till Monday."

Monday came, and expectation was on tip-toe to hear Mr. Keitt's reply to Gen. Granger. But here comes the New York Tribune's record:

"Mr. Keitt of South Carolina made a loud and smartish speech in glorification of slavery—its benignity and beneficence, *but he did not assail Gen. Granger's positions.*" And again "H. G." (Horace Greeley) writes—"I thought we were to have the grave objections to the constitutionality of slavery in the United States fairly met and traversed; but I was disappointed."

When will all the opponents of the oligarchy learn the true way, the only way, in which the enemy can be met and silenced?

CALL FOR A NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTION.

To the Abolitionists of the United States:

Our undertaking is the abolition of American Slavery, every part and parcel of it. To this undertaking we are prompted by impartial love for the white man and the black man, for the slaveholder and the slave, and by supreme love for Him, who gave His Son to die for all men, because He loved all men.

The means we employ are moral and political. They are prayer to God and argument with man, and votes that agree with, and give effect to prayer and argument.

Another Presidential election is approaching. Can we rely on any of the great parties of our country to do our work in that election? ON NONE OF THEM. NONE OF THEM GO FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. Only one of them is so much as Anti-Slavery; and even that one is Anti-Slavery at but a single point. The Republican party opposes the introduction of Slavery into the Territories, but endorses its constitutionality in all the Slave States.* It lets alone the

* See Address of Pittsburg Convention.

whole Slave Trade, not only that between the States, but the coastwise trade also, which is carried on under the sanction and regulations of Congress. It lets alone Slavery in the District of Columbia. It even lets alone the Fugitive Slave Bill, and well it may, for it fully admits that all the States, and does not deny that all the Territories also, are the constitutional hunting-ground for slaves. The Republican party would have Kansas a Free State. Nevertheless, it would allow the slaveholder a safe pursuit over all its prairies and through all its towns after his bleeding and broken-hearted fugitives.

We need not have said all this to prove that we have no right to rely on the Republican party to do our work in the coming election. Enough to this end is the fact that it is not an abolition party, and that we are abolitionists. Enough to this end is the fact that the slavery which we are trying to abolish this party spreads its wing over, and denies our right to abolish. Enough to this end is it, that whilst we hold slavery, to be a pre-eminent piracy, and a naked outlaw, and that the Constitution not only does not, but could not legalize it ; this party, on the contrary, regards our endeavor to liberate the millions of slaves as a war upon the Constitution and a violation of law.

Let it not be supposed that we undervalue the character of the members of the Republican party. Not a few of them are our personal friends—esteemed and beloved by us. A considerable portion of them, we trust, are abolitionists at heart, and subscribe to our principles. But the more excellent the character of the members of this party, the more injurious the false policy, which they have suffered to be stamped upon the party. That such men should make such concessions to slavery, is lamentable indeed. Alas, for freedom, when even her own professed friends can consent to yield so much to slavery, in exchange for so little for freedom!

Is it said that policy dictates the adoption of a platform on which all can stand, who are opposed to the extension of slavery, be the degree or character of their opposition what it may? And is it argued and expected that the Republican party, though starting on the low ground of this policy, will rise into an abolition party? We answer that such a policy will, from its own inevitable influence, keep down and drag down the party that adopts it. Hence, should the Republican party get the reins of government, it will endeavor to satisfy the nation by restoring the Missouri Compromise, and acquiescing, at every other point, in the present possessions and practices of slavery. It would feel itself bound by the implications of its platform, not to disturb those possessions and practices. Thousands in the Republican party mean that it shall work the overthrow of slavery, and doubtless many a slaveholder fears this result. Nevertheless, the success of the Republican party may prove the confirmation rather than the subversion of slavery, the most authoritative and effective endorsement of slavery, because endorsed by anti-slavery men.

It is manifest, then, that we, who refuse all concessions to slavery, and all terms with whatever piracy, must lay our account with doing our own work in this election. We must nominate our candidates and vote for them, and do what we can to persuade others to vote for them. Why should we despair of electing them? Mighty will be the appeal of our principles to all who love justice and liberty for all. In their bosoms the motto of the Republican party: "Slavery sectional—liberty national," can awaken no enthusiasm, and call up no response. The words that tell our truthful, glorious, heavenly principle: "SLAVERY FOR NONE—LIBERTY FOR ALL"—these are the words, that have power to unlock their hearts, and enlist their sympathies, and fire their zeal. Thousands may come to us, who would never consent to go to them. Thousands may desert their standard to gather around ours. Why indeed should not the whole Republican party do this? The comparatively

little good for which it goes, we go for also. And should they refrain from coming to us, because in addition to this we go for other and immeasurably greater good? Think us not extravagant when we say, that it is far from improbable that the Republican party will come to our standard. Another great outrage at the hands of the slave power—such as the slaughter of a hundred men in Kansas—and there will quickly be but two political parties in the nation—one party to kill slavery, and another to save it. A party to abolish slavery, and a party to defend it will be the only political parties for which we shall then have room—or for which there will then be the least demand. This was virtually admitted by Abijah Mann when, amid the loud applause of the Pittsburg Convention, he said:

"If the Government proceed to the shedding of a single drop of blood, for the purpose of having the infamous laws of the Border Ruffian Legislature enforced, I give it to you as my deliberate conviction, and on my responsibility as a citizen, that it will be the end of human Slavery in this land."

In such an event, what room would there be for the Republican party, with its distinct admission that "the slaveholding interest, in the States where it exists, is entitled, under the Constitution, like all other local interests, to immunity from the interferences of the General Government?" In such an event, what room would there be for the Republican party, a party "disclaiming any intentions to interfere with Slavery in the States where it exists.?" In such an event, what room would there be for the Republican party, whose Convention referred to, was presided over by a slaveholder, representing a slaveholding constituency, and bringing with him, as he himself stated, a "Southern platform," designed, as he himself stated, to restore the Missouri Compromise as "the security of the slave institution;"* a party that, like the Janus-faced Colonization Society, has its Pro-Slavery appeal for the South, and its Anti-Slavery appeal for the North—a party in which slaveholders and anti-slavery men are to unite for the common object of a mutual compromise that shall be "the finale of all existing commotions," and that shall nevertheless leave the slave in his chains!†

We must not, however, concern ourselves inordinately with the question, whether there will be few or many to come to us. We should find sufficient encouragement to go forward in the assurance that God is with us. In claiming, as we do, the immediate and unconditional liberation of every slave, and in denying as we do the possibility of law for slavery, we cannot doubt, that we have the divine approbation and the divine blessing.

Meet with us, then, brethren, at Syracuse, on Wednesday, the 28th day of next May, for the purpose of nominating men for President and Vice President of the United States, who have the ability, the integrity, and the courage to assert their principles, and who will wield their official powers for the deliverance of every American slave, for the deliverance of every American slaveholder, and for the salvation of the whole country. We confess that we expect to see great numbers of you on that occasion. We confess, too, that we should expect to see still greater numbers of you, but for our apprehension that most of you are still in the habit of looking to others than abolitionists, and waiting for other than abolitionists to do your work. In 1848 you must wait to see what the Buffalo platform party would do. It did nothing but die. In 1852 you must wait to see what the Pittsburg platform party would do. That too did nothing but die. And, now, will you wait to see what the second Pittsburg platform party will do? That is just as sure to die as were the others. At its very birth, it refuses to inscribe on its banner the motto of its predecessors, "No more Slave States," and rallies, in company with slaveholders, on the one

* See Address of the Pittsburg Convention.

† See Southern Platform, by F. P. Blair.

† See Southern Platform, &c.

issue of restoring the infamous Missouri compromise, in which freedom was betrayed, the slave power enthroned, and its career of successful aggression inaugurated.

Every anti-slavery party that does not rise to the level of an abolition party is without root and must wither away. To expect success for this new Pittsburg party—for this policy of stopping the progress of slavery at one point, whilst indorsing and guaranteeing the great mass of it—is scarcely less folly than to expect to save the city by an attempt to stay the flames at one point, whilst the incendiaries are permitted to fan the flames at every other.

March, 1856.

New York.

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